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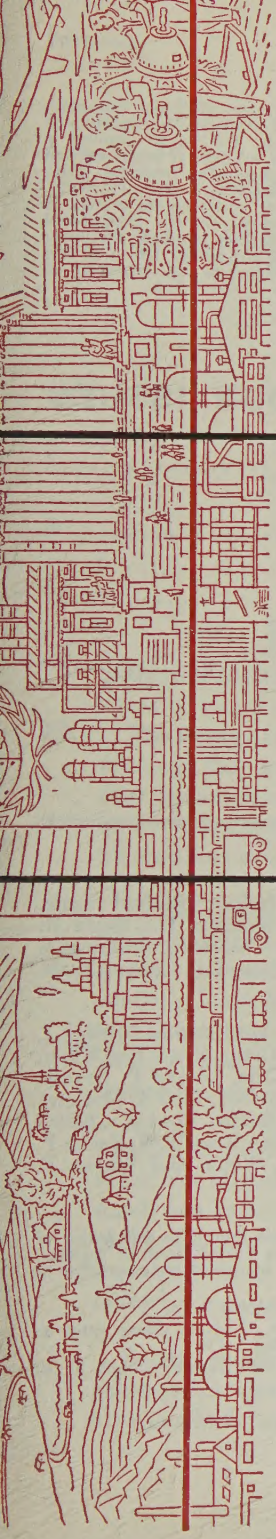

SOCIAL PROGRESS

Brief Reports on Four Issues—

- **Economics**
- **Education**
- **Population**
- **Race Relations**

Vol. XLVII, No. 10 June 1957

SOCIAL PROGRESS

Published by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., to provide a forum for the church on subjects of social concern for Christians. It includes program resources, legislative developments, and guides to worship, study, and action for leaders of social action groups in local churches, presbyteries, synods, presbyterial and synodical societies. Articles represent the opinions of the authors—not the official policy of the Department of Social Education and Action or of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

BRIEF REPORTS ON FOUR ISSUES

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From This Vantage Point...

IN THIS issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS we present the gathering together of pertinent information about four important areas of social concern for the churches.

The issues discussed here are domestic, rather than international, although they have significant implications for foreign affairs. The four presentations emphasize information rather than arguments and conclusions, although no attempt has been made to write out all opinions and judgments.

In the first article Gayraud Wilmore outlines some of the problems and responsibilities we face as we move into an age of economic and material abundance. We are reminded of the key sentence in the Message of the Pittsburgh Conference on the Church and Economic Life in 1956: "To the shallow expression, 'We never had it so good,' the Christian must reply, 'We never had such heavy demands upon the Christian conscience.'"

Two problems, of deepest interest to Christians, emerge in an expanding economy. The first has to do with the ways by which we share our abundance with millions of people in the world who are much less privileged in material things than we are. The second problem has to do with our behavior as consumers. What are the moral dilemmas of consumer purchasing, sales promotion, advertising?

In the second article Margaret Kuhn presents and discusses some of the relevant data in the field of public education. This is an area in which facts need to be carefully separated from fancies, and

this Miss Kuhn does with real skill. The arguments in the current very hot debate on the issue of Federal aid to education are presented in outline form.

The issue of public education is one of great concern to the churches. The 169th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. will have before it the report of a study of this issue by the Board of Christian Education. Over the years, in a series of carefully composed pronouncements, the General Assembly again and again has affirmed its support of public education as over against the parochial system, its backing of Federal aid to education, its encouragement of every sound move to strengthen the public schools.

The third article offers important information about the population "explosion" and resulting social change. Unpredicted population increases combined with dramatic population shifts have catapulted us into a whole series of social changes that require long-range planning on a wider scale than ever before. Important questions are raised relating to Federal vs. local responsibility for social planning and for the support of public programs. Some of our traditional philosophies may have to be re-examined.

The church's role is not that of a spectator but that of a participant. The churches should press for a clarification of goals to guide the important public decisions that will be made and that will have such a profound effect upon every family and every person in the United States.

In the fourth and last article H. B. Sissel presents important information concerning the problem of race relations in America. These data are particularly useful for churches and ministers who wish to participate in their own communities in the struggle for basic human rights for all of our citizens.

The problem of race relations and the church's responsibility in the light of it have been discussed in several recent issues of SOCIAL PROGRESS. This question has grown into a moral crisis concerning which the churches cannot be neutral or silent.

—Clifford Earle

Prepared by Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr.

Our Expanding ECONOMY

No single set of statistics can adequately mirror the over-all conditions of our complex American economy. Figures have been quoted, tables cited, and graphs exhibited both by those who say, "We never had it so good," and by others who retort, "We were never in greater economic and spiritual danger." Not only do many economists disagree on the state of our national economic health, they even disagree on what data from which Government bureau or economic research agency is most reliable. The bewildered nonprofessional who seeks a Christian perspective in all this welter of facts (which must be adjusted by qualifying economic considerations) and figures (which cannot be totaled because of roundings) must take his choice of data, balance it off with arguments from the other side, depend upon the church for competent opinion, and examine the meanings of his own observation—holding everything with tentativeness and in expectation of almost inevitable revision.

Such is the multiform complexity of our dynamic American economy and the problem of seeking in it the ingredients of a Christian decision. There is nothing we can do about it short of withdrawing to the dubious security of admitting the irrelevance of the faith to contemporary economic problems and policies. This we are not disposed to do. Those of us who are sensitive to the needs of our own population and the great poverty of millions of people around the world are not willing to abandon the arena of decision to government and the vagaries of economic power groups.

There is no single line of approach for exerting our influence. Certainly the opportunities for individual action are extremely limited. But inasmuch as the influence of others is most determinative of our economic behavior in the area of personal consumption, perhaps it is here that Christians, as individuals and as groups, need to be most alert to the insights of the Christian ethic.

"Consumer engineering" is the new term that describes the science of keeping Americans consuming more in order that high pro-

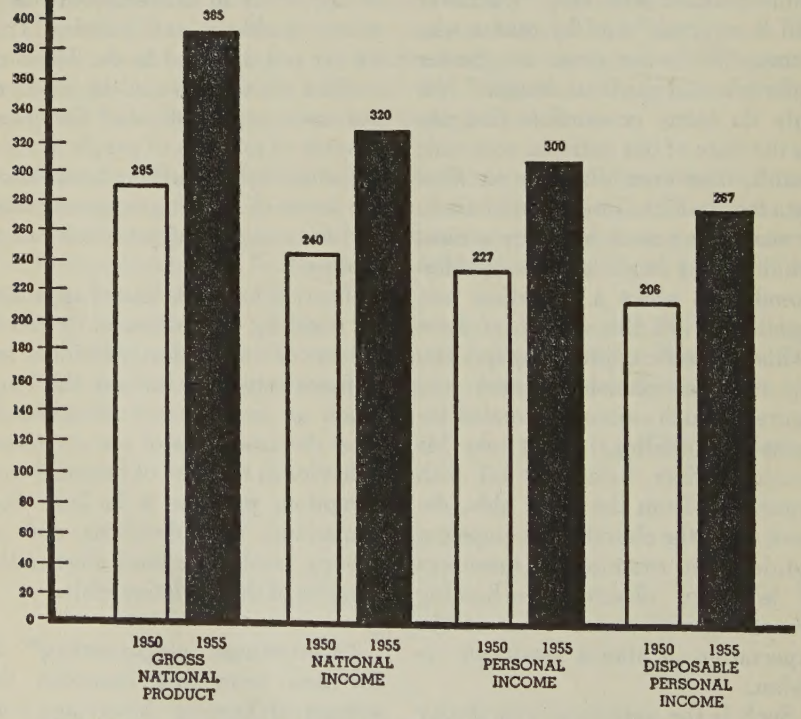
ductivity be maintained. "Any plan," writes one consumer engineer, "which increases the consumption of goods is justifiable if we believe that prosperity is a desirable thing."

Prosperity is a desirable thing indeed—not only for some Americans, but for all our citizens and for people everywhere. But we would like to know more about what we are asked to sacrifice on the altar of increased prosperity.

The authors of *American Income and Its Use*,[1] in commenting upon the above quotation write:

"One way to increase buying is to use more wheat, for example, to help the farmers. Another way is to buy things we never before thought of: What about a Santa Claus and reindeer for the front lawn at Christmas—$300 for Santa with two reindeer, $500 for Santa with a team of eight? Who knows but that Santa Claus may save an industry from demoralization? A third way is to abandon the

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT, NATIONAL INCOME, PERSONAL INCOME, DISPOSABLE PERSONAL INCOME, IN BILLIONS OF CURRENT DOLLARS,* 1950 AND 1955[2]



*THE 1955 FIGURES ARE SEASONALLY ADJUSTED ANNUAL RATES FOR THE SECOND QUARTER.

old and get a new model. 'Consumer engineering must see to it that we use up the kind of goods we now merely use. . . . Can they be displaced by newer models? Can artificial obsolescence be created?' [*Consumer Engineering*, by Sheldon and Ahrens.] Can we make people think that the television set of six months ago is already out of date? The consumption of goods is still far below what it conceivably might be. Let us consecrate to it more high-powered thinking and give more glamour to our civilization. 'Progressive waste' is thrift for the new day."

Consumption, then, is at least one aspect of the problem for the Christian in our economy of abundance. We present below some data on our present prosperity, how we are using it, and some provocative opinions about it from the past and present.

HOW WE HAVE SHARED OUR ABUNDANCE

For several years the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan has interviewed a sample of consumers for the purpose of discovering their income, how much they plan to save, how much they had accumulated previously, what their spending plans are, and what they think the future holds. Spending units are defined as "all persons living in the same dwelling and related by blood, marriage, or adoption, who pool their incomes to meet their major expenses."

The table below presents significant comparative information. It shows the money incomes of consumers before taxes as a percentage of all spending units in three selected years.

Percentage Distribution of Consumer Spending Units According to Money Income, Before Taxes [3]

	1955	*1952*	*1948*
1. Under $1,000	10	13	14
2. $1,000–$1,999	13	15	22
3. $2,000–$2,999	14	18	23
4. $3,000–$3,999	16	18	17
5. $4,000–$4,999	15	15	10
6. $5,000–$7,499	21	14	9
7. $7,500–$9,999	6	4	5
8. $10,000 and over...	5	3	5

It will be observed that the percentage of consumer spending units under $1,000 dropped from 14 in 1948 to 10 in 1955, while the percentage in the second bracket dropped from 22 to 13, and in the third bracket from 23 to 14. There was practically no change in the fourth bracket, while the number in the fifth bracket increased from 10 to 15 per cent, and in the sixth bracket from 9 to 21.

Average money income before taxes for the top 10 per cent increased 17 per cent in the years 1947–1954, from $11,020 to $12,940. In the other groups the average money income increased 40 per cent, from $2,340 to $3,470. After deflation by the consumer price index, it was found that average income had increased 12 per cent from 1947 to 1954.

In 1954 the top 40 per cent of spending units received 68 per cent of the total money income before taxes; after taxes their income amounted to 65 per cent of the total.

In 1954 the wives and mothers in one fourth of the spending units

added $1,000 or less to the family income by working in jobs outside their homes.

Sharing with a Needy World

How are we sharing our abundance with more needy folk around the world? The Mutual Security Program for 1957 is about 5 per cent of the U. S. budget of $70 billion. But less than $4 billion is the total of the MSP for all kinds of foreign aid. The total in the MSP for nonmilitary programs of economic development and technical co-operation: $402 million—11 per cent of MSP.

A. Direct military aid	—$2 billion (approx.)	—53% of MSP
B. Defense support	—$1 billion (plus)	—31% of MSP
C. Development assistance	—$250 million	— 7% of MSP
D. Technical co-operation	—$152 million	— 4% of MSP
E. President's emergency fund	—$100 million	— 3% of MSP
F. Other	—$85 million	— 2% of MSP

Our economic and technical aid programs amount to less than 1/10 of 1 per cent of the U. S. gross national product, which is now over $410 billion per year and rising.

A. Development assistance at $250 million per year is less than 6/100 of 1 per cent of the U. S. gross national product.

B. Technical co-operation at $152 million per year is less than 4/100 of 1 per cent of the U. S. gross national product.

Some Christians say we in the U. S. should think of foreign aid as a sort of sharing of a tithe of our annual output with the underdeveloped areas. Some Christians suggest sharing about 1 per cent of it.

Economic studies suggest the U. S. can well afford to use from ½ per cent to 1 per cent of our gross national product, $2 billion to $4 billion per year, in technical and economic aid, in grants and loans at low interest on a long-term basis.

CONSUMPTION AS ONE INDEX OF DECISION

Certainly the ultimate purpose of an economy is to produce goods and services that consumers want. What the consumer buys must be determined in part by personal choice. The individual can carefully examine what is offered, study commodity information and market trends, and choose not only on the basis of the welfare of himself and his own family but also with a concern for how his spending affects the economy as a whole.

Is this too much to ask of the individual consumer immersed as he is in an acquisitive, technological culture which urges him to conform to increasingly higher standards of living? Perhaps. But it may not be too much to hope that Christian consumers, bound in the fellowship of a church which is conscious of its own peculiar identity and style of life, may be able to affirm certain convictions of faith in the pattern of their private consumption.

The table below gives a good picture of how we spent our money in the United States, in percentages, in 1929 and 1951. In 1929 the total personal income was $85,127 million; in 1951 it was $254,075 million. Consumers' prices in that period rose 51.5 per cent thus there was an increase in value of personal income of 131 per cent.

Personal-consumption expenditures

Item	*1929*		*1951*
Food		23.9	
Alcoholic beverages		3.3	
Total of above	23.1		27.2
Clothing	12.9		9.7
Personal care	1.3		1.0
Housing	13.4		8.6
Household operation	12.4		10.8
Medical care and death expenses	4.2		4.0
Personal business	6.1		3.7
Automobile	6.8		7.2
Other transportation	2.1		1.3
Recreation	5.1		4.5
Tobacco	2.0		1.9
Private education	.8		.7
Religion and welfare	1.4		.8
Foreign travel and remittances	.9		.5
Total personal-consumption expenditures	92.5		81.9
Taxes, personal	3.1		11.4
Savings, personal	4.4		6.7
Total of all	100.0		100.0

Consumer Expenditures 1954 [4]

(In millions of dollars)

1.	$78.586	food and tobacco ($5.250 for tobacco)
2.	30.776	household operation
3.	29.758	housing
4.	26.928	Transportation (user operated, $23.682)
5.	24.545	clothing, accessories, jewelry
6.	12.220	recreation
7.	11.756	medical care and death expenses ($.162 for death)
8.	11.379	personal business (bank service charges, brokerage fees, life insurance settlements)
9.	3.202	religious and welfare activities
10.	2.759	personal care
11.	2.605	private education and research
12.	2.018	foreign travel and remittances
	$236.532	

Thorstein Veblen—

The basis on which good repute in any highly organized industrial community ultimately rests is pecuniary strength; and the means of showing pecuniary strength, and so of gaining or retaining a good name, are leisure and a conspicuous consumption of goods. Accordingly, both of these methods are in vogue as far down the scale as it remains possible; and in the lower strata in which the two methods are employed, both offices are in great part delegated to the wife and children of the household. Lower still, where any degree of leisure, even ostensible, has become impracticable for the wife, the conspicuous consumption of goods remains and is carried on by the wife and children.

The man of the household also can do something in this direction, and indeed, he commonly does; but with a still lower descent into the levels of indigence—along the margin of the slums—the man, and presently also the children, virtually cease to consume valuable goods for appearances, and the woman remains virtually the sole exponent of the household's pecuniary decency.

No class of society, not even the most abjectly poor, forgoes all customary conspicuous consumption. The last items of this category of consumption are not given up except under stress of dire necessity. . . .

The exigencies of the modern industrial system frequently place individuals and households in juxtaposition between whom there is little contact in any other sense than that of juxtaposition. One's neighbors, mechanically speaking, often are socially not one's neighbors, or even acquaintances; and still their transient good opinion has a high degree of utility. The only practicable means of impressing one's pecuniary ability on these unsympathetic observers of one's everyday life is an unremitting demonstration of ability to pay.[5]

John C. Bennett—

Both in personal life and in the life of the nation there is a real tension between Christianity and the general trend of our economic life. There will be Christians who, feeling the burden of this tension, will try to find some way of living a much simpler life, of reducing their standard of life deliberately to a point nearer to the standard of living of the least privileged groups. Monasticism at its best has been influenced by this same concern to renounce the acquisitiveness and materialism of the world, and Protestants have often sought a personal or community discipline inspired by this same protest. This type of sectarian withdrawal from the main stream of contemporary society can make a positive contribution to the ethical sensitivity of those who remain in that main stream; but this contribution will be dependent in large measure on the degree to which those who choose such a discipline are free from self-righteous illusions. They should realize that they depend in innumerable ways upon the larger society with its more callous economic behavior. They should also realize that if their protest became popular it would have disastrous effects upon an economy, the effec-

tiveness of which is essential for the welfare of most of the human race.

Most Christians, of course, will have to find their vocations in the economy. They can believe that, in spite of all the moral problems it creates, it does represent good possibilities of life to countless millions who in other periods have been little more than beasts of burden.[6]

O. A. Ohmann—

What is wrong is more a matter of goals and purposes—of our assumptions about what we are trying to do and how we can dignify and improve ourselves in the doing. There is nothing wrong with production, but we should ask ourselves, "Production for what?" Do we use people for production or production for people? How can production be justified if it destroys personality and human values both in the process of its manufacture and by its end use? Clarence B. Randall of Inland Steel in his book, *A Creed for Free Enterprise,* says:

"We have come to worship production as an end in itself, which of course it is not. It is precisely there that the honest critic of our way of life makes his attack and finds us vulnerable. Surely there must be for each person some ultimate value, some purpose, some mode of self-expression that makes the experience we call life richer and deeper."

So far, so good, Mr. Randall. But now notice how he visualizes industry making its contribution to this worthy objective:

"To produce more and more with less and less effort is merely treading water unless we thereby release time and energy for the cultivation of the mind and the spirit and for the achievement of those ends for which Providence placed us on this earth."

Here is the same old dichotomy—work faster and more efficiently so that you can finish your day of drudgery and cultivate your soul on your own time. In fact, he says, "A horse with a very evil disposition can nevertheless pull the farmer's plow." No, I am afraid the job *is* the life. *This* must be made meaningful. . . . What happens to people in the course of producing may be far more important than the end product.[7]

National Council of Churches—

There is no necessary contradiction between an economy of abundance and the principles of Christian living. But the Christian must always realize that an increasing volume of goods and services does not necessarily contribute to the "more abundant life." As a consumer, the Christian has choices of profound importance to make. One of these is to spend his income on goods and services that promote human welfare rather than on those which are useless or harmful to mankind. Another important choice and challenge is to avoid the sin of thoughtless waste and selfish dissipation of income and goods. . . .

In an age of potential abundance there is a special temptation to uncritical conformity with things as they are which the Christian must resist. The church itself faces this danger. In such a time as this there rests upon every Christian a supreme obligation to heed the call of Saint Paul when he said, "Do not be conformed to this world but be transformed by the renewal of your mind, that you may prove what is the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect."[8]

Prepared by Margaret E. Kuhn

SCHOOL Problems

OUR burgeoning population has burdened the public schools and caused many bitter controversies in local communities about school needs and measures required for meeting them. These conflicts have obscured the facts and alienated school people from the rest of the population.

According to the annual statistics compiled by the research division of the National Education Association as reported in *The New York Times* on January 27, 1957, our country must build 328 classrooms and lure 493 new teachers daily for the next year to catch up with the needs of 32,338,688 school children.

The annual N.E.A. study shows these important changes in the nation's public schools for 1956–1957 as compared with 1955–1956:

An increase of 1,197,000 in enrollments in public elementary and secondary schools.

An increase of 55,000 in instructional staff.

An increase of $731,300,000 in current expenditures.

A shortage of 180,000 qualified teachers.

An estimated 120,000 new classrooms needed.

The study predicts that at least 840,000 pupils will be deprived of full-time schooling by half-day or other part-time arrangements. Some 80,000 teachers are employed by school systems who are not fully qualified for standard certificates. This condition is most prevalent in rural elementary schools.

The average salary of teachers, the report indicates, is increasing slowly. It is now $4,025 for elementary teachers and $4,560 for high-school instructors. The average for classroom teachers is $4,220. In spite of the over-all increase, 71,000 teachers are paid less than $2,500 a year. Seven states report more than 25 per cent of their teachers in this low-salary range. On the other hand, twenty states report that more than 25 per cent of their teachers receive $4,500 or more.

The problem of personnel turnover again shows up as a major factor in the teacher shortage. The total annual turnover is estimated at 114,000 teachers. Of these, 92,000 drop out of teaching and need to be

replaced. Half of the 80,000 emergency teachers also need to be replaced; 48,000 new teachers are essential if we are to reduce oversized classes. This makes a total of 180,000 teachers needed in 1956–1957.

On the financial side, the report shows that the average school now spends $295 per year on each pupil in daily attendance, as compared with $88 in 1940.

It was found that the basic units of public-school systems vary widely. A few states use the county unit plan, but most have the district system, where the units vary in size from one-teacher schools to metropolitan centers with many schools. The number of districts that have been consolidated in recent years indicates that much progress is being made. There are 51,941 separate administrative school districts in the country today, compared with 127,244 in 1933.

***The New York Times* has done a thoughtful analysis of major issues in urban and suburban schools.**

Here are some of the deficiencies of urban schools described in the report:

They are overcrowded. Many are on double or part-time sessions.

Parents have little part in formulation of school policy. To give citizens a sense of greater participation, some cities have begun to decentralize their school administrations.

The curriculum is geared to mass rather than individual education.

The individual child is lost in the crowd. Larger communities find it difficult, if not impossible, to plan for the gifted or superior child.

Teachers are unable, because of heavy work loads, to give proper guidance or assistance to children who need it most. In large cities teaching is frequently on a clock-like schedule. New York teachers, for example, have discontinued most extracurricular activities. They insist they will continue this boycott until salary grievances are met. The children suffer as a result. In large cities the classes are usually larger than in suburban areas.

Suburban Advantages

Thousands of families move to the suburbs to give their children a good education, and also to escape from association with large numbers of Negro children and other minorities. The racial factors are seldom openly discussed in Northern and Western areas, but the feelings are strong nevertheless.

Suburban schools are reported to have the following advantages:

They are able to attract better teachers, since they pay higher salaries and give other teacher satisfactions.

Buildings are newer, classrooms modern and up to date. Almost every suburb is engaged in a huge building program.

More attention is paid to the individual child because of smaller classes.

The report also points out that suburban school standards are kept higher because as a rule there is a more homogeneous population, and the major emphasis is to train for college entrance.

But education in the suburbs, it would seem, is not geared to the demands of industry. Whether on a

basis of providing a schooling for the 40 per cent who do not go to college, or on a basis of providing for a much-needed labor pool, the suburban schools are not doing the job many parents want them to do.

A vocational survey in Nassau County, New York, shows that employers in the county's rapidly expanding industries are seeking young workers with specialized training. Employers believe that present shortcomings in employee's skills would be largely overcome if schools provided well-equipped shops and laboratories that simulated actual working conditions in industry.

The short supply of local youth with specialized training is forcing Nassau business and industry to recruit workers from outside areas. What is true in Nassau County is true elsewhere in the suburbs.

The reasons are apparent: When the suburbs began to be filled, the average newcomers were fairly well off economically. They sought out better schools, and hoped their children would enter good colleges. They did not want vocational or technical training. As a result, almost all school buildings that have gone up in the suburbs in the last few years are college-centered; little attention is paid to the vocational program.

But the movement to the suburbs has gone beyond the upper middle classes. Now many families in the medium and lower income brackets are coming to the suburbs. They are not convinced that their sons or daughters will go to college. The large cities, whence they came, did have vocational or technical high schools. But now they find their children will get a limited education as far as learning a trade or skill is concerned.

Federal Aid

Federal aid to education has been much in the headlines this spring. At this point it is uncertain whether an Administration measure calling for $1,300,000,000 over a four-year period, or the Kelley bill (Augustine B. Kelley, Democrat, of Pennsylvania), asking for $3,600,000,000 over a six-year period, will be presented. It may be a compromise. The real issue has been and will be the basic principle of Federal aid.

The arguments in favor of Federal aid have been specifically set forth by spokesmen for the National Education Association:

(1) A serious shortage of school buildings now exists.

(2) The states cannot afford to provide sufficient funds to build enough schools, even if they increase the effort they now make.

(3) Increased enrollments (public schools are growing at the rate of 1,000,000 pupils annually) make it difficult if not impossible for the communities to build schools fast enough. As a result, more than 2,000,000 children are going to overcrowded classrooms and are getting an inferior schooling.

(4) If the Federal Government can afford a major road-building program, it can likewise afford a smaller program to help build more schools. Our rising economy makes it possible to support schools without in any way throwing our budget out of line.

(5) Federal aid has a historical

background. The Government has helped finance schools and colleges for more than a century. It has done so without exerting control.

On the other hand, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and others who have opposed Federal aid advance these arguments:

(1) The states are building enough schools without help from the Federal Government. Instead of a shortage, as claimed, the nation has more than enough schools at present.

(2) Federal aid inevitably will mean Federal control.

(3) The Federal Government is over its head in debt now. The states are in a better position to spend the money.

(4) The Federal budget is at a peacetime high. To add to it will hurt the national economy. It is essential to cut, rather than add to, the budget.

(5) The school construction bill is pushed by "lobbyists" for the education profession. These "agitators" are more interested in raising their salaries than in helping the children.

The greatest difference appeared on a matter of facts. Has the country enough schools? The Chamber of Commerce insisted that in the last ten years 480,000 classrooms were built by the states, while only 291,000 were needed to meet the increased enrollments.

Marion B. Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, has called these figures inaccurate and misleading. During the past decade, he said, only 406,000 classrooms were built, although from 444,000 to 504,000 were wanted. And this, said Mr. Folsom, is not the whole story. Prior to 1946, during the war years, little construction took place. A backlog of thousands of unbuilt schools developed. Then there is the question of obsolescence. Unusable schools have to be replaced.

Judging by the evidence presented in Washington, the N.E.A. and others who argued for more construction had the best of the argument. After a recent visit to schools in Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, and Iowa, Rep. Samuel K. McConnell, Jr. (R., Pa.), reported, "You are just fooling yourselves if you argue there is no shortage of classrooms and buildings."

Despite the common belief that the need exists, the odds are that the bill will not pass the House. This is in spite of the fact that the White House Conference voted two to one for the school aid. A recent Gallup poll showed the voters four to one in favor; both the Democratic and Republican platforms favored it, and President Eisenhower and members of his Cabinet have spoken it.

Side Issues

Unfortunately, extraneous issues are involved. Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat, of New York, will reintroduce his 1956 amendment, which would prevent schools practicing segregation from getting Federal funds. Last year this turned the tide against the Federal aid bill.

Budget-cutting sentiment may also stand in the way of the bill. Congressmen and Senators are hearing from their constituents. Some newspapers

have joined the fight. This may be enough to scare Congress away from the Federal bill, despite Administration pressure.

The Administration also proposes, in addition to Federal grants for school construction, the provision of $750,000,000 more to buy local school bonds. To receive the grants, the states or municipalities would have to put up matching funds. This school bond proposal comes at a time when many communities are in an acute financial squeeze. The interest rates on bond issues have been going up. Inflation has boosted building costs and maintenance, and the ability to get tax support for the schools is reaching the saturation point. Then, too, cities are losing their more prosperous families to the suburbs. The city schools thus lose not only the financial support but the leadership of these families.

Rising Costs

Regardless of the size of the system, whether it is a co-ordinated or independent district, a rich or poor town, the major issue today is rising school costs.

Former city dwellers now in suburbia, who never knew what it meant to pay direct school taxes, now find themselves acutely tax-conscious. They have seen the school tax, so earmarked, skyrocket on their modest home. They do not know how to avoid increasing school costs.

Another problem in many suburban areas involves controversy between old-time residents and newcomers. The "natives" object to higher school taxes and to the need for still heavier bond issues for schools. In some cases, the conflict hinges on the control of the school board, or the kind of school program to be taught.

School board elections sometimes are contests between the old and the new—with the new usually winning out. Unless the community puts up strict zoning laws and limits the number of new residents, the natives cannot stop the rush of city dwellers to their boundaries.

Suburban areas are beginning to re-examine their schools. It will take time, but undoubtedly, as industry spreads toward the suburbs, the schools will help to fill the need for subprofessional and subtechnical employment.

The call for community colleges is one answer. New York State is planning to build these two-year institutions of higher learning. The Board of Regents has proposed $100,000,000 for ten such colleges. They would be spread throughout the state, but at least three would go to the suburban areas of Long Island. Others would be built in the suburbs of Westchester or upstate New York.

The community colleges would offer courses for high school graduates who do not want to go to a traditional college, but who need more education than the high school has offered them. The community colleges offer girls the choice of many secretarial jobs; the boys would receive training in scores of subprofessional areas.

By this time it is apparent that the full cost of the schools cannot be borne solely by the suburban communities. State and, if possible, Federal assistance will be essential if the tremendous demands on sub-

urban school systems are to be met.

Integration

Integration in public education is a problem everywhere in the U.S.A. —even in the great cities of the North and West where official segregation is illegal. But because children go to neighborhood schools and we have not yet broken out of our segregated neighborhoods, segregation is a fact in elementary and even secondary schools.

Several Northern school boards have faced up to this problem, following the Supreme Court ruling, and are studying and experimenting with some new policies of zoning and teacher and pupil assignment to circumvent residential segregation.

In New York City, for example, civic groups realize that housing is the basic problem. But they are pressing the school board to take what steps it can to keep segregation to a minimum. Benjamin Fine reports these recommendations in his "Education in Review" column of *The New York Times* on February 10, 1957.

These are some of the ways to reduce segregation in the schools:

(1) Integrate as many schools as possible on the "fringe" areas by rezoning. Build new schools at such sites that both colored and white children will attend without violating the neighborhood principle.

(2) Change the "feeder lines" leading from elementary to junior high schools to develop a better pattern of integration.

(3) Change the pattern of high schools to permit students to attend regardless of neighborhood. There are specialized schools now that admit students from anywhere in the city. Extend that principle to other high schools.

(4) In deeply segregated areas develop a new approach to integration. If children are attending a crowded Negro school and are sent by bus now to another all-Negro school, send them somewhat farther to a white school. It might mean a somewhat longer bus ride, but the extra mile or so will matter little.

(5) Permit parents to send children out of the neighborhood through "permissive" zoning.

(6) Put special classes, such as those of intellectually gifted children in predominantly Negro schools. Then permit children from neighboring areas to attend.

(7) See that all schools, regardless of location, get a fair share of teachers who are qualified.

Perhaps the action in Willow Grove, Pa., a suburb of Philadelphia, is a model for other communities. Willow Grove integrated its school system on the so-called Princeton Plan. Two adjacent school zones were combined into a single zone and students were assigned to one of the two schools on the basis of grade. The formerly all-Negro grade school was assigned the kindergarten and grades one, two, and six. A new grade school which had originally been planned as an all-white school was assigned grades three, four, and five.

The two schools were put under a single principal. Thus two completely integrated schools replaced segregated schools, which had resulted from strictly segregated residential patterns.

POPULATION

Explosion

The rapidity with which the population of the United States has grown is a major factor underlying many of our contemporary social problems. Because we have been, and still are, living in the midst of rates of population growth which are almost unique in the perspective of human habitation of this globe, it is difficult to comprehend their meaning and implications.

In the short span of 160 years between the first census of the United States in 1790 and the seventeenth decennial census in 1950, the population of the nation doubled five times, increasing from less than 4 million to 151 million persons. During the nineteenth century the population increased at an average of about 14 per cent per year, and since 1900 has averaged an annual increase of over 2 per cent. Although the rate of growth declined during the first part of this century to a low of 0.7 per cent increase per year during the depression 1930's, it rose again with the postwar boom in marriages and births to average about 2 per cent from 1946 through 1955. The phenomenal character of population increase in the United States is made clear, perhaps, when we realize that between the birth of Christ and the beginning of the modern era, 1650, it is likely that the population of the world increased at a rate of about 5 or 6 per cent per century.

The difference between a population increase of 14 per cent per year during the nineteenth century, or even 2 per cent per year during this century, and 5 or 6 per cent per century is undoubtedly a significant index of the difference between relatively stable and unstable social orders. Moreover, not only is rapid population growth apt to produce greater social and personal disorganization, reflected in the work load of the social worker, but also it places a strain upon health and welfare agencies themselves, which must expand to keep up with population growth.

Despite the tremendous population growth of the United States, the birth rate has been declining throughout most of the period for which measurements of fertility are available. In fact, the United States shares with France such distinction

as there may be in being the first modern nations to record large declines in fertility. The crude birth rate of the United States, estimated at 55 per 1,000 in 1800, decreased to 30 by 1900, and dropped to a record low of about 17 at the bottom of the depression in 1932. During the postwar period, when the birth rate climbed back to a level of about 26, it was only about half of the 1800 level.

The great fluctuation in birth rates between the depression thirties and the wartime forties has produced first a great gap and then a bulge in our population pyramid which will have profound effects on many aspects of American life for at least several generations to come.

We can say, roughly, that life expectancy in the United States about doubled between 1800 and 1950. The doubling of years of life has, of course, also greatly altered the nature of social, family, and personal problems.

The decline in mortality has not been evenly distributed over the span of life. Most of the gain in expectation of life has resulted from the decrease in infant and child mortality and the conquest of the parasitic and infectious diseases. For example, between 1900 and 1950 infant mortality declined by over 80 per cent, whereas mortality at ages sixty-five to seventy-five years decreased by only about 27 per cent. Moreover, female mortality declined more rapidly than male mortality, so that the gap between male and female expectation of life has increased.

The United States has contributed one of the most dramatic chapters to human history in its receipt of some 40 million immigrants of record between 1820 and 1950.

Moreover, of all the non-Indian population in 1820, some 9.6 million persons were immigrants; and many persons have entered the country, especially across our southern land boundary, without becoming immigrants of record.

Throughout our history, immigration has been a major contributing factor to community, institutional, and personal problems. Uprooted from their own cultural backgrounds, immigrants have universally been faced with problems of accommodation and assimilation—processes that endure for at least several generations. The more recent waves of immigrants, those who entered since 1900, have come from Southern and Eastern Europe—from cultures more divergent from the American way of life than those of Central and Northwestern Europe from which our earlier immigrants came. But each of our major waves of immigration has produced a whole series of problems.

From 1790 to 1810 the Negro constituted about one fifth of our population.

Since 1810 the Negro has been a decreasing portion of the total population, declining continuously to a level of about 10 per cent in 1930—a percentage which has remained quite stable since.

At the outbreak of the Civil War about 92 per cent of the Negroes in the United States lived in the South. By 1910, this proportion had decreased only to 89 per cent. Moreover, in 1910 only 27 per cent of the Negroes lived in urban areas. It is only since then that the Negroes left

the South in large numbers and migrated to the cities of the North and West.

By 1950 the proportion of Negroes in the South had declined to 68 per cent; and 62 per cent of the Negroes in the United States lived in cities. In 1950 in the northeast and north central regions of the country 94 per cent, and in the West 90 per cent, of the Negroes lived in urban areas; whereas in the South in 1950 about 48 per cent were urban.

The decreases in birth rates, death rates, and immigration have greatly aged the population of the United States.

In 1800 the average American was under sixteen years of age; by 1950, he was over thirty.

Between 1900 and 1950 the median age of our population increased by over seven years, rising from 22.9 to 30.1 years. During this same period the proportion of the population under five years of age decreased from 12.1 to 10.5 per cent, rising in 1950 as a result of the postwar baby boom from a low of 8.0 per cent in 1940. The population sixty-five years old and older, in contrast, increased continuously from 4.1 to 8.7 per cent of the total. During the first half of this century, while our total population doubled, the number of our citizens sixty-five and over quadrupled.

Even more dramatic than the growth of our total population has been the growth of urban population.

In 1790 there were only 24 urban places in the United States; these contained a total of 200,000 persons, or only 5 per cent of the total population. By 1950, there were 4,741 cities containing a total of 96.5 million persons, or 64 per cent of the nation's inhabitants. Moreover, in 1950, 168 standard metropolitan areas included 84.5 million persons, or well over half the total population. Between 1940 and 1950, under the special impact of our expanded war economy, metropolitan area growth absorbed over 80 per cent of total growth in the United States. The populations of these areas during this decade increased by 22 per cent, while in nonmetropolitan areas the increase was only 6 per cent.

The city slum has long been a national disgrace and a disproportionate contributor to social work problems.

It has become today a major political issue and a focal problem which has led, perhaps, to the greatest mobilization of ideas, men, and resources ever assembled to deal with a peacetime social problem. The demographer and the ecologist, as well as the sociologist in general, have contributed much to an understanding of the slum which has pointed to the policies and programs needed to deal with its problems.

Among the factors that contribute to an explanation of the slum as an urban phenomenon are three that merit special mention here. These are: first, the rapidity of urban growth; second, the nature of metropolitan area structure and change; third, the manner in which our cities have historically been peopled.

The fabulous character of urban population growth in this country has already been noted. Cities in the United States were built, not structure by structure, but rather by neighborhoods and even by whole communities. In consequence, the processes of aging and decay pro-

duced, not one obsolescent structure at a time, but rather entire decayed neighborhoods and communities. In perhaps an overly dramatic statement, the physical aspects of slum and blight in our cities may be described as a twentieth-century hangover from a nineteenth-century growth spree.

Cities, originating at some central point or points associated with their economic base, necessarily grow outward. In consequence, the newer, more modern, more fashionable, and more desirable housing tends to be located toward the periphery of the city or metropolitan area; and the older, obsolescent, and less desirable housing tends to be located near the center or centers of the metropolis. In the competition for housing, the lower income group tends to locate toward the center of the city and the higher, toward the periphery. Thus, social-economic status in the metropolitan complex tends to have a spatial dimension measured by distance from the center of town.

Finally, cities in large measure, and especially in their early histories, grow through the receipt of population through migration. American cities were largely peopled by the successive waves of European immigrants who came to the United States primarily because of the greater economic opportunities. Newcomers to the city typically began their new life at the bottom of the economic and social ladder. For the typical immigrant or in-migrant to the city, the slum offered the only housing he could afford.

In becoming Americanized, and adapted to city life, each immigrant group has demonstrably changed its spatial location within the city and its general social and economic status.

As the group worked its way up the economic and social ladder, its center of location moved toward the periphery of the city until it became widely or completely dispersed and disappeared into the community at large. This movement in space was accompanied by rising general socio-economic status as measured by higher education, occupation, income, and associated characteristics.

The patterns of accommodation and assimilation which have characterized the settlement of European immigrants are now being followed by the American Negro. The greatly increased migration of rural Negroes to metropolitan areas, and especially to the cities of the North and West, may be likened to the earlier streams of European immigrants. The Negro too is moving to centers that offer better economic opportunity than he finds in his area of origin and that need him to man the expanding economy.

The flow of Negroes from the South to the North, which began in relatively large volume during the First World War, was greatly accelerated, and spread to the West as well as continuing to the North, by the demand for labor generated by the requirements of the Second World War. For, in the Second World War, in building a gigantic war economy on top of a high-level civilian peacetime economy, we tremendously expanded our urban industrial plant and labor force.

The data here presented help to illuminate some of the historical and contemporary aspects of health and welfare problems and programs.

They also provide a framework for peering into the future; for it is possible to project the trends that have been summarized and to consider some of their implications.

First, in respect to total population growth, the prospect for the future has been drastically altered by the postwar boom in marriages and births which was unanticipated either in magnitude or duration. Before the war, population projections indicated a maximum population of from 151 to 175 million persons in the United States, with a stationary or declining population by the end of the century, assuming no immigrations. We have already, in 1956, surpassed a population of 165 million and may anticipate a total population of 207 to 228 million by 1975. This means an increase of from 55 to 75 million persons in the short span of twenty-five years between 1950 and 1975. The latter figure represents a population increase as large as the total population of the United States in 1900.

Mortality may be expected to continue to decline, with increasing gains for middle-aged and older persons as compared with the young, particularly as gains are registered in the battle against the degenerative diseases.

Increases in expectation of life will, of course, continue to add to the burden of health and welfare agencies concerned with the adding of life to years to meet the increase in years added to life.

There will be a number of important changes in the composition of population as a result of the trends and differentials in fertility and mortality and the virtual cessation of immigration. In respect of ethnicity and race composition, two significant changes may be anticipated. By 1975 the proportion of foreign-born, 6.7 per cent in 1950, will have shrunk to negligible proportions. The proportion of nonwhites will be about the same—around 10 per cent of the total—but the Negro will be much more evenly distributed between the South and the North and in much larger proportions both in Northern and Western metropolitan areas. By 1975 it is possible that the Negro will make up from one fourth to one third of a number of our larger cities, and as much as one fifth of our larger metropolitan areas.

Great changes will also take place in the age structure of the United States. The increased birth rate will result in persons from 5 to 14 years of age increasing from 24.4 million to somewhere between 30.3 and 41.8 million, or by 24 to 71 per cent. Persons 15 to 19 will increase from 10.7 million to between 17.3 and 20.3 million, or by 62 to 90 per cent.

At the other end of the age scale, persons 65 and over will increase by 47 per cent while they grow from 14.1 to 20.7 millions. For the first time in the history of the United States the dependency ratio will increase. Persons under 20 or 65 and over will increase from 72 per 100 persons 20 to 64 in 1950, to a range of from 73 to 92 in 1975.

The trend toward urbanization of our population may be expected to continue with ever-increasing concentration of population in our great metropolitan centers.

By 1975 it is possible that three fourths of our population may be

urban. Within our urban communities important changes may be anticipated in respect both of physical plant and of human problems.

It is reasonable to expect that by 1975 most of our present-day slums will have disappeared. That is, present efforts toward "urban renewal," including slum clearance, conservation, and rehabilitation, which are likely to be intensified, may well rid our urban centers of the vestiges of the nineteenth-century fabulous growth which provided us with a heritage of fabulous twentieth-century slums. Concerted efforts to rebuild the decayed centers of our cities are almost certain to alter the appearance of urban America.

On the other hand, this does not mean that the prospect is entirely an optimistic one. At least two dark clouds are to be observed. One concerns the rate of obsolescence of residential plants in our present outlying areas within cities and in the suburbs. The relatively rapid growth which these areas have experienced during this century could mean that slums will infest the peripheries of our cities and suburbia by the time we have reconstructed our urban inner zones. It is possible that we may simply turn our cities inside out in respect to slum characteristics. This is almost certain to happen if the peripheral areas do not heed the experience of the inner zones.

Second, the present relationships between income and housing costs do not permit low-income families in cities to occupy urban housing except under conditions of intensive occupancy, which means slum occupancy. It is possible that we shall breed new slums as fast as we clear out the old ones until either private industry can produce houses in which low-income families can afford to live with decent standards, or until the United States is prepared greatly to increase the volume of subsidized (public) housing for low-income families.

Excerpted by Margaret E. Kuhn from "Demography and Human Ecology in Relation to Social Work," by Philip M. Hauser, one of three Eduard C. Lindeman Memorial Lectures given by the National Conference of Social Work and published in *The Social Welfare Forum, 1956,* Columbia University Press. Used by permission.

Prepared by H. B. Sissel

A Précis on RACE

The following facts, figures, and events do not purport to be exhaustive in the field of racial and cultural relations. If they were, they would occupy several chapters, even several volumes. Most of them will be well known to the student of intergroup relations. They are assembled here, however, on the basis of their usefulness, pertinence, and interest for the Christian who is deeply concerned about racial and cultural relations but who does not have the time to read exhaustively in that area.

Distribution of U.S. Population by Race, 1950

White—134,942,028
Negro—15,042,286
Indian—343,410
Japanese—141,768
Chinese—117,629
All other—110,240

Negroes and Religion [1]

Estimated number of Negroes in the U.S.—15,000,000
Estimated number of Protestant Negroes—7,500,000
Estimated number of unchurched Negroes—7,000,000
Estimated number of Roman Catholic Negroes—476,000

The Supreme Court Decision and After

On May 17, 1954, the Federal Supreme Court ruled unanimously (9 to 0) that racial segregation in public schools was unconstitutional, and on May 27, 1955, in an implementing decision the Supreme Court directed that desegregation was to take place with "all deliberate speed," placing responsibility in the hands of Federal District Courts. The second ruling was also unanimous.

These decisions applied to public-school systems in twenty-one states and the District of Columbia. They did not affect private schools. Segregation in the public schools was required by state law in seventeen states: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. In these states and the District of Columbia about 8,100,000 white and 2,500,000 Negro children were enrolled in 34,095 white and 15,227 Negro public schools. Permissive segregation was allowed in four

states: Arizona, Kansas, New Mexico, and Wyoming. Sixteen states prohibited segregation, and eleven had no law on it at all. Secular and ecclesiastical reactions to these decisions were immediate and diversified.

Press Reaction in the U.S.

Following the 1954 decision, *The New York Times* published a summary of editorial comments throughout the nation. It divided the editorial comments of the 40 newspapers it analyzed into three categories: (*a*) approval, (*b*) acceptance, (*c*) opposition. In the nonsegregation states, 13 papers "approved" the ruling, 2 "accepted," and none "opposed."

In the segregation states, 4 papers "approved" the ruling, 14 "accepted," the ruling, and 7 "opposed" it.

In general, those papers "approving" the decision saw it as a healthy one, the end of a long and inevitable process, a reaffirmation of our political faith, and a powerful blow against communist propaganda.

Those "accepting" the decision emphasized the difficulties that it raised, stressed the need for caution, and made an appeal for clear thinking and calmness. They insisted on the need for time.

Those "opposing" the decision saw it as a blow against states' rights, harmful to public education, and as a disturbing influence in the social structure of the South.

World Press Reaction [2]

The decision received an almost unanimous "good press" in foreign newspapers from New Delhi to London. A typical comment appeared in *Le Monde*, a French newspaper often critical of the United States: "Marks a victory of justice over race prejudice, a victory for democracy."

One exception to this praise in foreign newspapers was in the South African *Cape Town Die Burger*, which said that the "most important bastion in America's color bar policy now has fallen, and the Court's ruling has started a serious and lengthy internal conflict, the forms of which are not foreseeable."

Ecclesiastical Reactions

The reaction of national church bodies was almost unanimous in approving the Supreme Court decision and (to a lesser extent) calling upon constituent churches to lead the way. Regional church reactions (i.e., dioceses, synods, districts) were also almost unanimous in their support of the decision. Local and county-wide ecclesiastical groupings varied somewhat, especially in the South, but in the majority "accepted" the decision at least.

Typical Ecclesiastical Reactions

Southern Baptist Convention, June, 1954: "We recognize the fact that the Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the Constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men."

Congregational Christian General Council, June, 1954: "Whereas the Supreme Court of the United States has declared segregation . . . to be contrary to the Constitution . . . be it resolved that we call upon all Americans to undertake timely and tolerant implementation of the Supreme Court decision."

Protestant Episcopal Department of Christian Social Relations, 1954: We "agree as a group that the decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in public schools is just and right."

African Methodist Episcopal Connectional Council, June, 1954: "Be it resolved that the officers and members of the Connectional Council of the A.M.E. Church now assembled commend the Supreme Court for this far-reaching decision and urge the support and co-operation of our entire constituency in its implementation."

Presbyterian, U.S.A., General Assembly, May, 1954: "We receive with humility and thanksgiving the recent decision of our Supreme Court. . . . We urge all Christians to assist in preparing their communities psychologically and spiritually for carrying out the full implication of the Supreme Court's decision."

Presbyterian Church, U.S., General Assembly, June, 1954: Recommended that "local churches admit persons to membership and fellowship . . . on the Scriptural basis of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ without reference to race . . ." and that all Presbyterian institutions "adopt a policy of opening . . . to all races."

The Central Texas Methodist Conference: "There is no place in the Methodist Church for racial discrimination or racial segregation."

The New Orleans Council of Churches: "We believe that this decision is consistent with the spirit and teachings of Jesus Christ, and we further affirm that this decision is in keeping with what has been through many years the official position of the Christian church."

***Interracial Review*, organ of the Catholic Interracial Council, called the decision "second only to the Emancipation Proclamation in its significance and importance to interracial justice."**

Mecklenburg Presbytery (Presbyterian Church, U.S.):[3] "The Assembly's action which says, 'Enforced segregation is unchristian' . . . has been interpreted to mean that anyone who believes that segregation is expedient and permissible is not a Christian. . . . It is not at all uncommon to refer to some procedure as 'unchristian' without in any sense impeaching the essential Christian conviction and loyalty of a man who adopts such a procedure. Whether an individual is a Christian or not depends upon a personal, redemptive relationship to Christ. There may be moods and acts in his life which are 'unchristian,' a condition which he himself will most readily admit, seeing that not yet has the work of sanctification been made complete in any of us. By the presence of such 'unchristian' traits, whatever they may be, a man diminishes the quality of his witness for Christ and of his discipleship under Christ."

State Government Reactions[4]

The varying courses adopted by the seventeen states and the District of Columbia where school segregation had been compulsory have been categorized by Harold C. Fleming and John Constable as desegregating states, states divided, states resisting, and states defying.

Desegregating states include Oklahoma, Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia. Divided states include Delaware, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas. Resisting states include Virginia, North Carolina, and Florida. Defiant states include South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Defiant states, and of late some of the resisting states, have resorted to a whole series of legislative measures to buttress school segregation. Most of these laws come un-

der one or another of the following types: (1) Abolition of the public schools, by permissive legislation that makes it possible for some kind of "private school plan" to be set up in case the last bastion of segregation should be stricken down. (2) Nonsupport of integrated schools by legislation requiring the automatic cessation of state funds to school systems that desegregate. (3) Pupil assignment laws that, without using the term "race" or "Negro," make it possible for local school districts to assign pupils on such intangible bases as character, health, and "general welfare." (4) Coercive measures that forbid teachers and other state employees to belong to the NAACP, make it unlawful for the NAACP to solicit funds or operate as a nonprofit corporation within the borders of the state. Mississippi has established a system of paid informers and secret police to ferret out integrationists. (5) Interposition and nullification, which is the adoption of legislative resolutions declaring the Supreme Court's segregation rulings of no effect. The status of these two doctrines is ambiguous at best.

Organized Resistance to Desegregation

Although the initial resistance to the Supreme Court decision that received national attention was by the National Association for the Advancement of White People, under Bryant Bowles in Delaware, and though the Ku Klux Klan was also revived sporadically throughout the South, most of the organized resistance at present centers around the self-styled Citizens Councils, of which the Mississippi Council is the strongest and most influential.

The Councils' membership claims exceed the half million mark. Studies of the groups, however, estimate their membership as being closer to 300,000. It is also estimated that the Councils collect well over $2,000,000 each year in membership fees alone. One major objective of the Citizens Councils is to create an aura of respectability around the entire movement to resist desegregation. Although the movement attempts to embrace all sufficiently "respectable" groups, its top leadership attempts to free the central organization from responsibility for the actions of local groups. Public statements issued by the Council leadership decry violence and (after it was condemned by newspapers) economic reprisal. Even so, in spite of the fact that some of the "best" people in some communities in the South make up the leadership of the Councils, it is not surprising that cruder elements sometimes resort to mob action.

Economic reprisal usually takes the form of a denial of credit, the boycotting of wholesale and retail distributors, and the peremptory discharge of Negro teachers and other employees who advocate desegregation. White persons who express themselves too indiscreetly in behalf of desegregation are by no means immune to economic threat and social ostracizing.

Although most, if not all, of the prosegregation groups publicly denounce violence, nearly fifty cases of violence or threats of violence were reported in 1955 in twelve Southern states. These instances in-

cluded the murder of at least three Negroes in Mississippi and the wounding of another, the burning of a Negro church in South Carolina, several bombings, and innumerable cross burnings. In these cases, no person has yet been convicted.

Estimated White Citizens Council Membership and Membership Fees by State

State	*Estimated Membership*	*Estimated Receipts*
Alabama	80,000	$240,000
Arkansas	20,000	*
Florida	5,000	*
Georgia	?	**
Louisiana	40,000	200,000
Mississippi	80,000	400,000
North Carolina	20,000	**
South Carolina	30,000	50,000
Tennessee	?	**
Texas	25,000	**
Virginia	15,000	*
Total	315,000	$890,000

* Represents those states where a specific estimate is difficult, but where conditions indicate little financing.
** Represents those areas where specific estimates are difficult, but where conditions indicate considerable financial backing.

Meanwhile, as of January, 1957, the "score" on school desegregation in the areas most immediately affected by the Supreme Court decision was as follows:[5] 797 out of 3,711 school districts desegregated for a net gain of 208 since September, 1955. 319,184 Negro children in "integrated situations" with nearly 2,000,000 white children. Approximately 2,400,000 Negro children are still in segregated school districts. One hundred and ten out of 208 state-supported colleges and universities in the South are now "open" in principle or practice, but none are located in the "defiant" states.

The Supreme Court Decision in the North and West

Segregation in education outside the South is still the general pattern, although there are many exceptions in many school districts. The main reason for the continuance in the North of the general pattern of school segregation is, of course, the widespread pattern of segregated housing.

An article in *Look* magazine, summed up "Jim Crow Northern Style" in telling words:[6]

"North of the Mason-Dixon line, it's true, the Negro has the law on his side. He may ride in any seat on any bus, train, streetcar, or subway. He is admitted freely to most hotels. Restaurants, in increasing numbers, offer him courteous service. Public parks, beaches, and golf courses are open for his recreation.

"Throughout the North, too, there is no lawful racial segregation in public schools. And many Northern states and towns have laws that prohibit employers from hiring or firing on the basis of race. But . . . there's a big gap between law and reality.

"The Negro citizen outside of the South looks into the unmasked face of Jim Crow when he tries to find a place to live. Most suburbs are closed to him. When he succeeds in buying a house in a white urban neighborhood, the white residents generally move away in panic. He is left the colored district of the village, the great center of the city. In the Negro ghetto, he often lives a life that is, in fact, more segregated than that of the Negro in the South."

Life magazine summed up its views of "The Negro and the North" in these terse sentences:[7]

"Yet an enormous difference exists between legal segregation in the South and practices in the North, where discrimination is a matter of social pres-

sures. In the South resistance to desegregation is open and blatant. In the North, it is covert. In most of the South, segregation is still a way of life to be defended. In more and more of the North, discrimination is coming to be recognized as a wrong to be corrected."

At this writing five states have enforceable laws which, if used, can make substantial breaches in the solid wall of housing segregation. Those states are New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. These laws, however, affect only public housing and, in the cases of New York and New Jersey, publicly assisted housing.

FEPC

Today in the North the most vulnerable aspect of discrimination is employment, and the door to equality in employment is FEPC.

Table of States Having Fair Employment Practices Laws

State	*Year Enacted*	*1955 Budget*	*Enforcement Provisions*
Colo.	1951	$15,700	No
Conn.	1947	81,100	Questionable
Ind.	1945	20,000	No
Kans.	1953	10,000	No
Mass.	1946	73,450	Yes
Mich.	1955	50,200	Yes
Minn.	1955	30,000	Yes
N. J.	1945	100,089	Yes
N. Mex.	1949	1,640	Questionable
N. Y.	1945	428,863	Yes
Ore.	1949	16,255	Yes
Pa.	1955	(not determined)	Yes
R. I.	1949	36,495	Yes
Wash.	1949	49,610	Yes
Wis.	1950	14,200	No

Municipalities Having Fair Employment Practices Ordinances as of July, 1955

In Illinois: Chicago; in Indiana: East Chicago, Gary; in Iowa: Des Moines, Sioux City; in Michigan: Pontiac, River Rouge, Ecorse, Hamtramck; in Minnesota: Minneapolis; in Ohio: Campbell, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Girard, Hubbard, Lorain, Lowellville, Niles, Steubenville, Struthers, Toledo, Warren, Youngstown; in Pennsylvania: Farrell, Monessen, Philadelphia, Johnstown, Pittsburgh, Erie, Sharon, Duquesne, Clairton; in Wisconsin: Milwaukee.

The following cities have Fair Employment Practices ordinances, but with no enforcement provisions: Akron, Ohio; Phoenix, Arizona; Richmond, California.

Note: What constitutes an enforceable, and therefore an effective, fair employment practices commission, is not easy to determine. For example, a state may have a "good" FEPC law but have no budget behind it, as in the case of New Mexico. This leaves the commission relatively powerless to operate effectively. Other states like Indiana, Washington, and Wisconsin, have laws that specify no penalty for noncompliance but which, nevertheless, make it possible for the commission to subpoena and hold hearings, and issue cease and desist orders. Obviously the "best" FEPC law is one that has both enforcement provisions and a budget that permits the commission to operate effectively, as in the case of New York, for example.

Federal FEPC

There is not now, nor is there likely to be in the foreseeable future, a Federal fair employment practices law. There is, however, in every Government contract that is let to any company, an "FEPC clause" which, if the Government had the staff and the budget to enforce it, would theoretically do away with racial discrimination in employment in a relatively short time. Vice-

President Richard M. Nixon heads up the Committee on Government Contracts. A contractor found guilty of willfully violating the antidiscrimination clause in his Government contract could find his contract canceled by the Federal Government. He could also be put on "a debarred list," and thus lose his chance of getting any more Government business. This is a powerful weapon that the Federal Government holds if it chooses to enforce it. The same rules apply to a Southern factory owner as apply to a Northern factory owner. Again, there is a wide gap between that which the law requires and that which is universally practiced.

The FEPC Clause in Government Contracts

"In connection with the performance of work in accordance with this contract, the contractor agrees not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, religion, color, or national origin. . . . The contractor agrees to post hereafter in conspicuous places available for employees or applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting offices setting forth the provisions of the nondiscrimination clause.

"The contractor further agrees to insert the foregoing provision in all subcontracts hereunder, except subcontracts for standard commercial supplies or raw materials."

Racial Facts of Economic Life

Out of approximately 9,000,000 new housing units built by private enterprise between 1935 and 1950, slightly over 1 per cent have been available to Negroes.

If the entire population of the United States were jammed into two thirds of New York City, the population density would match the worst Harlem block in that city.

Out of 60,000 new homes built in Philadelphia's metropolitan area between 1953 and 1955, a total of 400 or .7 per cent were available to Negro purchasers.

Even so, in 1950 one out of every three urban Negro families owned its own home. From 1940 to 1950, white urban home ownership increased by 84 per cent, while Negro home ownership in the cities increased by 137 per cent. From 1949 to 1950 the total Negro population increased by more than 2,000,000, but the Negro population of seven Southern states decreased during the same decade. The same period saw forty-five U.S. cities record an increase of at least 100 per cent in their Negro populations, but all except two lie outside the South.[8]

Per Capita Income

Prewar	*Postwar*	*Present*
U.S. White		
$1,260	$1,640	$2,020
U.S. Negro		
384	730	1,070
United Kingdom		
900	1,030	1,100
Canada		
700	1,100	1,200
West Germany		
710	500	960
Japan		
235	190	250

But although Negro Americans are developing a true middle class, there still exists a great disparity between Negro and white family income.

While 13.1% of American white families earn over $7,500 after taxes, 3.8% of American Negro families earn over $7,500 after taxes.

38.5% of American white families earn between $4,000 and $7,500, while 15.2% of American Negro families earn that amount. 28.9% of American white families earn $2,000 to $4,000 annually, while 39.9% of American Negro families earn that amount. And while only 19.5% of American white families earn under $2,000 per year, 41.1% of American Negro families earn less than $2,000 per year.

A White South African Looks at America [9]

"By now I assume that it is an incontrovertible fact that segregation is dying. The evidence is massive. . . . To me there is one inescapable implication of the end of segregation. For if by maintaining segregation America was declaring that she was a white nation with some colored citizens, then by removing segregation she was declaring something else. If a man with one drop of colored blood is a colored man, then what is a nation with one colored citizen?

"To me America is declaring that she upholds no kind of racial civilization, but upholds civilization itself. . . . Many Americans are too pessimistic about their own country; they measure their moral strength in terms of sleeping tablet consumption, Kinsey reports, juvenile delinquency, and McCarthyism. Let them try measuring it as well in terms of the advance of the Negro. . . . Perhaps it might be true, after all, that a nation gets the Supreme Court that it deserves."

Acknowledgments

Our Expanding Economy

[1] Elizabeth E. Hoyt, in *American Income and Its Use,* produced by a Study Committee of the Federal Council of Churches. Harper & Brothers, 1954. Used by permission.
[2] *Your Christian Conscience and American Abundance,* by Reinhold Niebuhr and Leland Gordon. National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., 1955. Used by permission.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *The Theory of the Leisure Class,* by Thorstein Veblen. The Viking Press, Inc., 1953. Used by permission.
[6] John C. Bennett, in *Goals of Economic Life,* edited by A. Dudley Ward. Harper & Brothers, 1953. Used by permission.
[7] "Skyhooks," by O. A. Ohmann, in *Harvard Business Review,* May-June, 1955. Used by permission.
[8] Message to the Churches, Third National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life, April, 1956. National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. Used by permission.

Our School Problems

The material in this section is taken from the following issues of *The New York Times:* January 27, 1957; February 10, 1957; March 17, 1957; and a *New York Times* reprint (n.d.). Used by permission.

Population Explosion

This section is composed of excerpts from "Demography and Human Ecology in Relation to Social Work," by Philip M. Hauser, in *The Social Welfare Forum, 1956.* Columbia University Press, 1956. Used by permission.

A Précis on Race

[1] *Interracial Review,* August, 1954.
[2] *Just, Right, & Necessary.* The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1955.
[3] *Presbyterian Outlook,* February 6, 1956.
[4] *What's Happening in School Integration?* by Harold C. Fleming and John Constable. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 244. The Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1956.
[5] Figures from *Southern School News.*
[6] "Jim Crow Northern Style," *Look,* June 26, 1956. Used by permission.
[7] "The Negro and the North," *Life,* March 11, 1957. Used by permission.
[8] "The Negro's New Economic Life," by Emmet J. Hughes, *Fortune,* September, 1956. Data courtesy of *Fortune* magazine. Used by permission.
[9] "The Negro in America Today," by Alan Paton, *Collier's,* October 15, October 29, 1954, Southern Regional Council.

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